LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921 Editor: R. Palme Dutt

CABINET CHANGES AND COMMON MARKET

R. Palme Dutt

TORY WAGES POLICY

Emile Burns

*

also:

Classes and Parties Today: E. M. Winterton
Dockers and Decasualisation: W. Lindley
Southern Rhodesia: D. Buckle
Conference reports by Delegates: *Shipbuilders and Engineers, Woodworkers, Railwaymen.*

AUGUST 1962

One Shilling and Sixpence

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUGUST DAYS

FOR HARD-WORKING people August means holidays—the hind let loose, when you live in your 'own time', and not the boss's, snuffing a foretaste of freedom. Plans of days by sea and moorland, or just with feet up and head down. But August days are still haunted by memories, long and short. Only the older people have vivid memories of that distant August 4, 1914, opening a new kind of war, between rival imperialists, when half a generation was cut down in its flower, and left survivors who could never forget them—even if they did not know on whom to avenge their slaughter. We who in those days were schoolchildren, or younger still—no youth peace movements then—remember only the attitude of our elders. Here, a mother seeing all her miner sons at last out of the pit—and into the army. There, men on leave still plastered with Flanders mud; others in hospital blue, shell-shocked and sitting shaking in the sun. I can see a sailor's wife, two of my playmates at her skirts, clutching an unopened telegram. I can see my socialist grandfather, canvas and brushes neglected, stunned by the failure of the International to stop the war, and the majority of socialists in every country (except Russia) turning jingo over night. Only a revolution now will end it, he said. Some lost their faith for ever; some gained a new faith. Such a one was John Mackay, an elder of the Free Church in a Scottish town. On the last Saturday in July, 1914, he drew up a petition to Prime Minister Asquith calling for urgent efforts to avoid war. He cycled with it to every minister's house around Peebles. To a man, they refused to sign: so he never entered a church door again. He became a red-hot socialist, because only socialism could ensure peace. Up to his death at a great age early this year he was guiding and influencing younger people in this cause, always recommending to them *Labour Monthly*, founded in the revolutionary aftermath of that war. It is the good which people do which lives after them; but it is no longer necessary for one young man to go round alone with a petition for peace: there are millions like him and he is in great company.

Thirty-one years after that August came another Bank Holiday: August 6, 1945, when a mushroom cloud blotted out Hiroshima and the first 160,000 to be killed or injured by an atom bomb, from which people are still dying. I was working on that Monday; my job was to telephone leading scientists all over Britain and ask what their reaction was. Some replied that it was no surprise; they had been in terror lest Hitler and his generals should get the weapon first, before the Red Army could get to Berlin and disarm them. Today German Panzer troops are training on British soil and their generals confidently demand 'the nuclear deterrent'. Yes, August is certainly a time for memories—and for mass action; this can unite the oldest and the youngest amongst us.

'Backslider' writes: 'You do well to remind us, in "Easy-oosie peanuts" of that disaster, Ramsay Macdonald. He fooled too many of us for a longer time than flatters our political intelligence. Peanut Gaitskell treads the same road. Surely if we can't do much else we can all spare a bob or two to help you ram this lesson home'. Some people certainly are ramming it home. I mentioned in April Renfrewshire young people who set themselves to get 100 new readers. I met one of them last

(Continued on page iii of cover)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notes of the Month

CABINET CHANGES, COMMONWEALTH AND COMMON MARKET

The wind of change is blowing with a vengeance, almost to hurricane force.

Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, speech in New York, April 24, 1962.

EVEN in sedate England the wind of change (aided by three-quarters of the electors voting in by-elections this year) has blown out of office seven Cabinet Ministers at one blast. Unfortunately not yet all, nor yet the chief offender—although his intended successor has been virtually proclaimed. Such a wholesale 'Cabinet reorganisation' is virtually without parallel in modern times. It is a measure of the depth of the economic and political dilemmas of British capitalism today. And not only of British capitalism. President Kennedy has begun to discover that his loudly proclaimed 'forward march' for the American economy to 'new frontiers' is not proving so easy as he had imagined. The laws of capitalism do not so easily surrender to the trumpets of a brash young multi-millionaire even though he has surrounded himself with a bewildering plethora of contradictory advisers from the depths of the Pentagon and the C.I.A. to the heights of Harvard. The gloss has begun to fade off the West German 'economic miracle'. All the experts of capitalism have now begun to talk about

CONTENTS

VOL. XLIV AUGUST · 1962

	Page
NOTES OF THE MONTH: *Cabinet Changes, Commonwealth and Common Market*, by R.P.D. ...	337
TORY WAGE POLICY IN RUINS? by Emile Burns	352
DOCKERS AND DECASUALISATION, by W. Lindley	355
DELEGATES AT CONFERENCES: 1. *Shipbuilders and Engineers*, by 'Confed'; 2. *The Woodworkers*, by Leo McGree; 3. *The Railwaymen*, by Stan Mills ...	360
CLASSES AND PARTIES TODAY, by E. M. Winterton	368
THE UNITED NATIONS AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA, by Desmond Buckle	372
ANTI-COLONIAL ENGLISH NOVELISTS, by V. Ivasheva	377
DO NOT SAY THEY DIED, by John Berger	382
Book Review:	
The Nuremberg Trials, by J. J. Heydecker and J. Leeb: *D. N. Pritt, Q.C.*	383
ILLUSTRATION	357

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'growth rates' at precisely the moment when the growth has begun to taper off.

Whither British Capitalism?

Today we have reached a point when a solemn Conservative M.P., Sir Cyril Osborne, can proclaim to the Wholesale Textile Conference meeting at Oxford on July 9 that 'the Western capitalist system is facing its gravest crisis since 1931', and follow up with speculations on the possible necessity of 'the cruel harshness of an economic slump' to compel the workers to 'face bitter realities'. In reality the present situation is by no means analogous with 1931, save in the elementary sense of the basic contradiction between increased productive capacity and private appropriation. The real general crisis of capitalism—especially in respect of the contrast of the economic development of capitalism and socialism, and the advance of national liberation—has reached a much deeper stage, if these 'growth' experts could understand it. And nowhere are all these contradictions more glaringly manifest in the situation of any major power than in the present situation of Britain, the oldest capitalism, the ruling centre once of the largest world empire, and now buffeted at the mercy of every wind that blows and kneeling, a suppliant, before the throne of Dictator de Gaulle and Hitler's heir, Adenauer.

Desperate Remedies

What new trends of policy does Macmillan's Cabinet reorganisation portend in this latest desperate attempt of Toryism to revive its failing fortunes? All the augurs are busy speculating. It is indeed a further measure of the depth of the present crisis of British capitalism that the Labour Front Bench should be also stricken with a palsy, and in place of being capable of taking advantage of this moment of opportunity should be so manifestly sterile and barren as regards a coherent alternative policy. Gaitskell and his associates are unable at the moment to offer any plain answer on any major issue, but only 'Wait and See' because British finance-capital is engaged in making up its mind. The City editors and financial press are fearful that the dismissal of Lloyd may mean that Macmillan and Maudling —while of course proclaiming unchanged devotion to the principles of 'sound finance' and undoubtedly continuing to seek to hold up the wage demands of the workers—may be contemplating some experiments in 'reflation' comparable to the recent attempts of President Kennedy. On social issues there may be some attempt to

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

redecorate the faded face of 'progressive Toryism', originally painted by Butler's Sunday School to hide the past and sneak back to office, and now hopelessly tarnished by the crude profiteering grab-raids, rackets and gamblers' sprees of the last few years. They will certainly try to win back the lost middle-income and professional voters. On defence there are signs that Thorneycroft may abandon Watkinson's battle with Macnamara and surrender to the camouflage 'Nato unification' in the hope of cutting costs.

'Europeans' in the Saddle

But one thing stands out a mile in this reorganisation. Three men emerge with conspicuously strengthened positions (alongside the continuance of Heath in his key rôle). Butler, Maudling and Thorneycroft. All three are and have long been notorious in the forefront of the so-called 'Europeans' in the current jargon—a deliberately misleading jargon to describe the most aggressive ultra-imperialists of the modern brand who work for the permanent partition of Europe and the revival of Munich and its Four Power Pact of Western Europe. Butler, the Man of Munich, becomes Deputy Prime Minister ready to take over from the fumbling hands of Macmillan. All three, like Macmillan, have been prominent British participants in all the miscellaneous 'European' jamborees at Strasbourg and elsewhere. Maudling is 'a whole-hearted European' (*The Times*, July 14, 1962). 'Mr. Thorneycroft has had himself numbered among the Europeans for some time. . . . His commitment of the country to the European Launcher Development Organisation gives an idea of just how much national interest he is prepared to sacrifice for what he undoubtedly regards as the greater object' (*Guardian*, July 14, 1962). We may therefore expect a still more intensified drive to get Britain into the Common Market in face of all the obstacles. Whether that drive will finally succeed is another matter. But the fight is on.

Rising Battle

The battle over Britain's entry into the Common Market will reach its height in the coming months. As the negotiations in Brussels drag on, Macmillan's original plan to reach an 'outline' agreement by the end of July, to present to parliament before the summer recess, in readiness for the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference in September, has collapsed in ruins. Adenauer coolly speaks of negotiations continuing 'well into 1963'. De Gaulle and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Adenauer in their Pact of Rheims have agreed to draw up their so-called 'political union' of the Six first, and then permit Britain to knock at the door for admission. Spaak denounces Gaitskell for insufficient docility. Opposition in Britain is rising, with the newspaper polls indicating for the first time a majority against. Opposition in the trade union and labour movement is also rising, as the full menace of this offensive of cold war reaction and big business anti-working class and anti-socialist interests is becoming understood. Symptomatic has been the caution so far of Gaitskell's professed 'on the fence' policy. Conferences of unions representing over a million votes have already registered direct opposition. Right wing supporters of the Common Market have not dared to come into the open in union conferences, but have sought to win their majorities for the Gaitskell line by hiding their support behind face-saving formulas about 'wait and see' or 'subject to satisfactory conditions'. In other words, 'I am ready to enter the snake pit provided conditions are satisfactory'.* Policy has still to be decided at the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference.

A Grave Decision

Opposition is also rising in all the Commonwealth countries, and has been vigorously expressed by all the Commonwealth Governments, irrespective of political colour. Unless bargains are reached beforehand, the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference, due to meet on September 10, is likely to produce rumblings, although the British Government has made clear (as indicated by Minister John Hare's indiscretion, on which the apology was only for the tone) that there is no intention of being bound by any findings of the Conference. No final result can yet be assumed. It is not excluded that the negotiations might still break down, either through the hostility of France and West Germany to Britain's entry on any favoured terms, or the unwillingness of Britain to accept the proposed terms. But all the present indications are that the Macmillan Cabinet, or Cabinet majority, are striving for entry at almost any cost. Such a decision, if taken, would have the most serious consequences for

*It is understood that the T.U.C. General Council has drawn up four conditions for entering the snake-pit:

1. that the fullest guarantees are given that no harm will ensue to health;
2. that the snakes be guaranteed not poisonous;
3. that in the event of poisoning by a snake, doctors and full medical care will be available;
4. that in the event of permanent injury or death through poisoning adequate compensation will be paid.

If these conditions are fulfilled, the General Council majority are prepared to recommend their members to enter the snake pit.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the whole position of Britain in the world, and for the future of the British people, as well as for the prospect of the international situation. The most fateful political fight of the modern era in Britain since Munich has now opened.

From Munich to Brussels

Nor is the analogy with Munich entirely out of place. What was the essence of Munich? The Baldwin and Chamberlain Tory Governments in the thirties, besotted with the idea of fostering the rearmament of German militarism (in defiance of their treaty pledges of German disarmament) and the aggressive expansionist aims of the fascist Axis as a supposed powerful weapon against the Soviet Union, walked into a suicidal trap. They failed to see that by this policy they were bringing into mortal danger the national interests of Britain and even their own imperialist interests. They failed to see that the sharp point of the expansionist aims of the Axis, under cover of the anti-communist screeching which hypnotised British Tory suckers ('While England Slept'), was directed, not first against the Soviet Union until the rest of Europe had been conquered, but first for the conquest of Western Europe and against Britain and the British Empire. The deadly outcome undeceived them, and for a brief moment tore the veil from their eyes, when the Soviet alliance became for these Tories the ark of salvation. But they have returned to their vomit. Today the very name of Munich is recalled only with curses as an awful warning by the same Tories who beslobbered it with praise at the time. But they are repeating the policy in a far graver form.

Counterpart of Nato

The march to the Common Market is far worse than the march to Munich. This time they have not only rearmed German militarism in violation of their treaty pledges. They have made the new Wehrmacht (Bundeswehr) the strongest army in Western Europe. Chamberlain never handed over British troops to be commanded by German generals. Macmillan has done this. Chamberlain never surrendered British soil in peace-time to be occupied by German troops. Macmillan has done this. Chamberlain may have submitted his speeches to be censored and revised by Mussolini. But he never handed over British sovereignty to a combination dominated by the Ruhr monopolists with the American warlords clamouring publicly in the background for the speedier capitulation

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Britain. Now the Common Market ('European Economic Community') is being established as the coping stone of this entire structure, the economic-political counterpart of Nato.

Politicial Aims

Hitler had to go to war to establish his domination over Western Europe, and create his 'New Order in Europe' as the economic-political integration of France, Germany, Italy and the other West European countries under the domination of the German monopolists and militarists. Today, in the name of the 'Common Market' or 'European Economic Community' the 'integrated' economic-political system of Hitler's 'New Order in Europe' is being built again in new forms already *before* the outbreak of the war so carefully planned by the German General Staff. Hitler never succeeded to incorporate Britain into his 'New Order in Europe'. Today the Tory Government of Macmillan is preparing to hand over Britain for such incorporation without a struggle. In all the sectional economic controversies over the detail effects of the Common Market, through which the sophists try to stupefy public opinion and discussion with statistical complexity, this central *political* aim must never be lost to sight. This central political aim, to rebuild the reactionary Munich combination in a far more extreme form (not to 'unite' Europe, but to intensify the *division* of Europe) is in fact proclaimed as the supreme governing aim, overriding immediate economic considerations, in every speech of Kennedy, Macmillan, Adenauer, Ehrhardt or Hallstein. Surrender to the Common Market would repeat in a far more deadly form the surrender of Munich.

Toryism Divided

Another analogy with Munich is also worth observing. At the time of Munich Toryism was divided. Churchill led a minority of the Tory Party in partial opposition to the Munich policy of Chamberlain; and the justification of his opposition from a Tory standpoint was later vindicated by the event. Today also Toryism is divided over the Common Market. A minority section at present voiced by Hinchinbrooke (now disguised as a Sandwich), Beaverbrook and others, oppose the dominant Macmillan-Butler policy for entry. On this basis the more unscrupulous Common Market propagandists are accustomed to sneer at the working class and left Labour opposition to the Common Market as 'lining up

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the imperialists'. This is political illiteracy. The same taunt was launched against the anti-fascists in the thirties because Churchill also criticised Munich. Any schoolboy can see that the dominant policy of imperialism today is the policy voiced by Kennedy, Macmillan and Adenauer, by Home, the City of London and the Federation of British Industries—the champions of the Common Market. Only a fragment of more old-fashioned imperialists, usually with links with the older Commonwealth countries, have failed to advance to the new imperialist line.

Peoples Against the Common Market

This split of the ruling class, of Toryism over the Common Market (the Liberals of course are all hotfoot for the new imperialism), however slight and weak and ineffective so far this minority opposition within the Tory Party, is of positive value for the working class and left fight against the Common Market. In the same way the opposition of Churchill against Munich and Hitler, although having nothing in common with anti-fascism (as Spain showed), was of positive value for the working class and left fight, and helped to make possible the eventual downfall of Chamberlain. But this does not mean that the working class and left fight against the Common Market has anything in common with the interests of imperialism. The popular fight against the Common Market is a fight on behalf of the British working people, of the masses of the British people, against the top monopoly interests and war planners, who are selling them out. It is a fight for the living standards and national independence of the British people. And it is united with the same fight of the working people of all the Commonwealth countries, of the older Dominions and of the Afro-Asian countries, against the menace of the Common Market which threatens equally their standards and their future. The fight against the Common Market is an integral part of the international fight against imperialism.

Commonwealth Contradiction

As the long-drawn negotiations in Brussels have proceeded, it has become increasingly clear that the main obstacle and contradiction and source of conflict or precarious bargaining between the British imperialists and the Six has turned on the question of the Commonwealth. This is not surprising. The *Economist*, that

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ardent City champion of the Common Market, wrote the other day (June 23, 1962):

> The Commonwealth men are totally wrong to set British membership of the widening European Community and the development of a tight little Commonwealth against each other as alternatives.

It would be difficult to crowd more distortions into one sentence. There is no 'European Community'—but only 'Little Europe', comprising six of the twenty-five European States. On the other hand, the Economist's 'little Commonwealth' is one-quarter of the world. The Commonwealth population of 714 million is more than four times the size of the Common Market's population of 169 million. Britain's trade with the Commonwealth countries is still, despite shrinkage, nearly three times the size of Britain's trade with the Common Market.

Dilemma of Ultra-Imperialism

It is therefore not surprising that the problem of the Commonwealth and the Common Market should present dilemmas equally to the British imperialists and to the Common Market leaders. For the Commonwealth as a whole, comprising one-quarter of the world, to enter the Common Market would obviously swamp the latter and destroy its proclaimed 'European' character. The meal would, in Adenauer's elegant Teutonic phrase, be 'too big to digest'. Or, as another critic has put it, the elephant would be entering the baby's bath. In the meeting of 'socialists' at Brussels a Belgian representative accused Gaitskell of trying to annex the Common Market into the Commonwealth. But in fact, as Heath has plainly stated, the British Government is not proposing to bring the other Commonwealth countries into the Common Market. This, he said, is 'a misunderstanding'. The British Government has only proposed to bring into 'associate' membership its African and West Indian colonial territories or recently ex-colonial territories, together with a few oddments in the Pacific, Persian Gulf or South Atlantic as eminently suitable partners in 'European' unity.

Second Horn of the Dilemma

But here arises the other horn of the dilemma. The British Government is proposing to enter the Common Market, ultimately surrendering sovereignty to it, while the major Commonwealth partners, such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, India, Pakistan or Ceylon remain outside. It is obvious that for Britain to go in thus

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

alone without the rest of the Commonwealth (except for directly colonial or a few recently ex-colonial appendages), that is, without the major Commonwealth partners, would mean in its consequences to strike a blow at the whole existing structure of the Commonwealth. Concretely in the economic sphere (for the political consequences are still hypothetical) it would mean, after a short transition to cushion the shock, the requirement to sunder the special economic trading links so laboriously built up with the rest of the Commonwealth. It would not merely mean the end of the preferential trading system—the proudest creation of Toryism a generation ago. It would mean that Britain would have to erect a tariff wall against Commonwealth countries in favour of foreign countries in West Europe. A somewhat startling outcome for modern Tory logic to have reached.

Commonwealth Clash

No wonder the other Commonwealth Governments are all without exception up in arms against Britain's proposed entry into the Comon Market. The declarations of Premiers Diefenbaker, Menzies and Holyoake for Canada, Australia and New Zealand, of Premier Nehru for India, or of President Nkrumah for Ghana, have all been sharp. Significant was the outcome of the Commonwealth Consultative Economic Council, consisting mostly of Finance Ministers, meeting at Accra in September, 1961. The official communique placed on record the divergence between the British Government and the other Commonwealth Governments. After examining the reasons for the British decision to apply for membership of the Common Market, the communique continued (italics added):

> *All other Commonwealth representatives expressed grave apprehension and concern* regarding the possible results of the initiative taken by the United Kingdom. . . . *Most Commonwealth countries questioned* whether the United Kingdom could possibly secure in the proposed negotiations an agreement which would protect Commonwealth interests adequately and effectively. . .
>
> *It was feared by the other Commonwealth countries that* U.K. membership in the E.E.C. would fundamentally alter the relationship between the United Kingdom and Commonwealth countries. Indeed, this relationship might be so imperilled as to weaken the cohesion of the Commonwealth as a whole.

No wonder the older school of British imperialists are aghast at the new line of British imperialist policy.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Commonwealth Enigma for Dr. Hallstein

What is the British Commonwealth today? Dr. Hallstein, the bureaucrat President of the Common Market (whose distinguished professorial career and economic publications* under Hitler will be recalled), expressed in a press interview on April 11, 1962, his bewilderment at the elusive indefinable character of this 'Commonwealth':

> This Commonwealth is such a phenomenon. What is the essential cement which holds it together? It is so hard to recognise the elements which hold it together. Many people thought it was Imperial Preference. They think that trade welded the Commonwealth into a unit. These people think that weakening the trade links will inevitably destroy it. I doubt whether this is not too strong. It might be more than trade—language, emotion, a common currency. These might be enough to preserve the Commonwealth even if it was weakened by Britain joining the Common Market. One theory may be right and the other may be wrong. But only experience can show us which is right and which is wrong.

Thus the President of the Common Market philosophically speculates on the possibility of his Common Market destroying the Commonwealth, and concludes placidly that 'only experience can show'.

Commonwealth and Empire

The present nature of the Commonwealth has been analysed previously in these Notes. Briefly, the Commonwealth may be defined as what the British imperialists have been able to preserve of their Empire after the general downfall of the colonial system and replacement of nearly all the former colonies by independent states. Close economic, financial and military ties are maintained, as far as possible, and some measure of political association, as in the various consultative conferences. But the centrifugal tendencies increase. The older 'White Dominions' (Canada, Australia, New Zealand) are closer to Britain in general imperialist political orientation, but have parallel links with the United States, and in the case of Canada and Australia press for independent industrial development, alongside the supply of agrarian products to Britain (one-sixth of Canadian exports, and over one-quarter of Australian exports go to Britain, while New Zealand's economy is entirely geared to the food supply of Britain). India and Pakistan, alongside tea and raw materials, have considerable manufactured textile ex-

*One of those publications appropriately enough, brought out in Nazi Germany in 1942 while he was Professor at Frankfurt, was entitled *Berichtigung des Gesellschaftskapitals* or 'Justification of Company Capital'.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ports; India pursues a generally independent foreign policy, while Pakistan is in the American orbit. The Asian and African countries press to complete their independence, economic and political, in common with the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations, often voting against Britain; but have still considerable economic and financial, and sometimes military ties with Britain. A system which has been described as like the modern astronomer's theory of the Universe—ceaselessly expanding, but with its members getting further and further apart from each other.

Imperial Preference and Ottawa

British imperialism has so far consistently striven to combat the centrifugal tendencies and hold together the Empire, as far as possible, while making inevitable concessions to the advance of independence. For this purpose the maintenance of economic trading and financial links has been the primary weapon. Imperial preference was developed from the beginning of the twentieth century that is, as soon as the old system based on the British world industrial monopoly had begun to weaken, and the era of imperialism had opened. Thirty years ago an Imperial Conference was held at Ottawa in 1932, in the depths of the economic depression, when Britain's exports to the Empire had fallen to 29 per cent of Britain's exports. At this Ottawa Conference a comprehensive agreement was reached between Britain and the Dominions, covering also the colonies, to establish a far-reaching reciprocal system of imperial preference tariffs, so as to embrace the whole empire in an exclusive preferential economic trading system. This system, which involved the final ending of the British free trade tradition and making Britain a protectionist country, was directed against the increasing American penetration and against other imperialist rivals. It was to this extent successful that after Ottawa Britain's share of the Empire market rapidly rose from 29 per cent to 49 per cent. Even in the recent era, with the further disintegrating influences, the proportion remained one-half in 1950, and is still between one-third and two-fifths.*

*According to the *Treasury Bulletin for Industry*, March, 1962, the percentage of British exports going to Commonwealth countries was 37.8 in 1960 and 35.5 in 1961, as against 14.6 and 16.7 respectively to the Common Market. The percentage of British imports from Commonwealth countries was 36.3 in 1960 and 35.5 in 1961, as against 14.6 and 15.4 respectively from the Common Market.

The term 'the Commonwealth' can be varyingly interpreted, thus giving rise to variations in the statistical estimates. South Africa and Eire are outside the Commonwealth, but inside the imperial preference system. Thus the *Daily Telegraph* booklet on *Britain and the Common Market* records the proportion of U.K. exports going to Commonwealth countries in 1960 as 42 per cent, and of imports as 38¼ per cent. The full extent of the sterling area, beyond the limits of the juridical Commonwealth, would enlarge these figures further.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Ottawa 1932 to Brussels 1962

Stanley Baldwin at the Ottawa Conference in July, 1932, proclaimed the aim:

> H.M. Government in the United Kingdom place before the Conference as its general objective the extension of Empire Trade to be brought about as far as possible by lowering trade barriers as between the several members of the Empire. We believe that such an objective will be the one best calculated to ensure the permanent stability of the Empire.

Triumphantly the British press acclaimed the defeat of disintegration:

> The old foundations sorely needed renewal. Certain members of the Empire were seeking trade agreements elsewhere. The Ottawa Conference has checked the more palpable processes of disintegration. . . . For five years at least, but permanently, as we trust, it has rejoined commercial ties between the Dominions and the United Kingdom which had begun to wear perilously thin. (*News Chronicle*, August 22, 1932.)

'Permanent.' 'Permanently'. Such was the key slogan then. 'To ensure the permanent stability of the Empire.' Alas, poor Baldwin. Imperial Economic Preference was then the golden elixir for Britain's economic ills in 1932, the sacred shibboleth of High Toryism and Lord Melchett, the grand gimmick paraded like the Common Market today. Farewell 'permanency'. It is ironic that the Tory successors of the Baldwin Coalition Government of thirty years ago should now be engaged in dismantling the structure so laboriously created by their predecessors to hold the Empire together. It is now the British Government which is 'seeking trade agreements elsewhere', and for this purpose throwing Ottawa overboard in the interests of Brussels.

American and Franco-German Hostility

From the outset the hostility of United States imperialism to the whole Ottawa system of imperial preference was open, and has continued throughout these thirty years. President Hoover at the time of Ottawa publicly denounced 'preferential tariffs' as 'the very breeding ground of tariff wars'. On the eve of Ottawa the U.S.-Canadian St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty was signed, and *The Times* Washington correspondent noted that this timing could be regarded as a deliberate demonstration against Ottawa. Similarly Franco-German hostility to the Ottawa system was demonstrated at the time by the holding of the Franco-German economic negotiations at Lausanne in June, 1932, for closer economic co-operation to counter the menace represented by the closing of the Ottawa bloc.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The United States has consistently maintained its offensive against the British imperial preference system, notably since the Second World War by the powerful weapon of GATT. Now the combined pressure of the United States and the Common Market has brought within view the prospect of a victorious outcome, to dismantle finally the British imperial preference trading system established at Ottawa.

Why the Surrender?

Why, then, this apparent surrender of the British imperialists to the offensive of their rivals? In part, it is a defeat. It reflects the weakening position of British imperialism in the world. American pressure has been open and merciless, including financial pressure (and a two billion dollar credit from the American-controlled I.M.F. the day after Parliament voted for the application to join—quite like the routine with a Latin American state). West German monopoly capital has outstripped Britain in production and exports, and now dominates the Common Market on a scale hopelessly eclipsing Britain. After having tried to fight the Common Market with E.F.T.A. and failed, the British monopolists now seek to come in so as to continue their fight from inside. The most powerful and efficient British monopolies hope to win enlarged profits in the cut-throat jungle war of the Common Market, with its law of death to the weakest, and to utilise the principles of mobility of capital and labour to break down trade union resistance and standards.

Ultra-Imperialism?

The governing political aim against socialism, carrying forward from Munich, has already been described. In face of the now visible prospect of socialist world economic preponderance within a short space of years, the capitalists seek to combine, at the same time as their rivalries continue. A Kennedy and a Macmillan dream of 'Atlantic Union', even while they fight one another in Africa, over tariffs or over nuclear weapons control. Two tendencies, as Lenin said: for the capitalists of the world to combine against socialism, and to be rent with internal strife against one another; neither tendency, as he said, will ever finally prevail; from this contradiction socialism, initially weak and vulnerable, but ever growing stronger, will finally prevail. Hence the illusion of ultra-imperialism; but the practical menace of Munichism, with German

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

militarist revival and American nuclear war plans, or the economic jungle-war represented by the Common Market.

Neo-Colonialism and the Common Market

Lenin also said, writing in 1915: 'A United States of Europe under capitalism is tantamount to an agreement to divide up the colonies'. The truth of this has been abundantly demonstrated by the Common Market. Every scheme of Pan-Europe for half a century has always been explicitly based on the assumption of an African foundation; the problems of the sick capitalism of Western Europe to be solved by the exploitation ('development') of the limitless resources and cheap labour of Africa. The Six are all rival industrial exporting powers; Britain would be a seventh. They have no common economic interest. Such a union of rival industrial exporting powers would by itself, as Khrushchov remarked, be equivalent to unnatural intercourse between men. Only a vast colonial foundation can provide the 'prosperity'. But in the era of the downfall of colonialism, and of the establishment of newly independent states, this requires new methods—the methods of neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism is the innermost essence of the economic basis of the Common Market.

Old and New Imperialists

France has vast African colonial (at the time of the Treaty of Rome), now ex-colonial, territories, with insufficient resources to develop them. West Germany has vast productive resources and capital to export, with no colonies or even ex-colonies. A natural bond of union between the two. A joint 'Development Fund' is established. France attaches the eighteen former French ex-colonial African territories as 'associate members' to the Common Market—not full members, not 6+18 making 24 members of the Common Market, but six full members, the imperialist powers, and eighteen 'associates', the African objects of neo-colonialism. And the British Government is now demanding the admission of all its colonial or recently ex-colonial African and West Indian territories as similar 'associates'. Cutting their losses on the continuously weakening economic links with the old Commonwealth (although endeavouring at the same time to hold on to as much as they can), the British imperialists are staking their claim to establish themselves in the neo-colonialist system of exploitation represented by the Common Market. The conflict between the two sections of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the British ruling class over the Common Market is not a fight between 'Europeans' and 'Imperialists', but between the old school of imperialists and the new modern imperialists. To this it should be added that the African foundation of the Common Market is built on sand more shifting than the Sahara. The African peoples are already in revolt against the neo-colonialism of the Common Market, and have begun to set up their African Common Market.

Positive Economic Alternative

The living interests of all peoples, equally of the British people, of all the Commonwealth peoples, of the Afro-Asian peoples, and also of the socialist peoples, are united against the reactionary offensive of the Common Market, representing the offensive of the cold war, tariff sectionalism and neo-colonialism. Our demand must be to break down bans and barriers against international trade, such as the bans on East-West trade, rather than set up new tariff barriers and sectional economic blocs. The limitless future for the expansion of Britain's trade and industries and employment lies, not primarily in the already overcrowded ultra-competitive market of the highly industrialised countries of Western Europe and North America, but above all in the organised development of mutually beneficial trade on a large-scale planned basis with the expanding economy of the new rising majority of the world, with the advancing socialist countries and the newly independent countries. Towards this aim in the international sphere the fight against the Common Market is bound up with the fight against the cold war and for peace. For these aims every effort needs to be made to win the majority at the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference. Labour has the opportunity to defeat the Tory Government on the issue of the Common Market. The fight against the Common Market is no mere negative fight, but opens the way to the advance for an alternative future for the people of this country in harmony with the peoples of the world.

July 16, 1962. R.P.D.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TORY WAGE POLICY IN RUINS?

Emile Burns

AFTER almost twelve months of the Government's 'Pay Pause', *The Times* (June 13, 1962) printed an editorial headed 'Policy in Ruins'. This spoke of 'the ruins of the Government's interim wage policy . . . sent reeling by the dockers and knocked out last week by the Civil Servants' Arbitration Tribunal'. It could have given many other examples of pay increases which were well above the limit of 2 to 2½ per cent set by the Government, in both public and private employment, and for both manual and 'white collar' or professional workers. Where the demands have been pressed home —and in the case of the dockers accompanied by a definite strike threat—the Government's policy has been defeated. But to infer from this that the policy itself is 'in ruins' is a gross overstatement.

The great majority of the twenty-three million employed persons has had either no general increases in pay at all, or increases within or very little above the Government's limit. The example of the potentially powerful Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers, covering some three million employees, brings this out. Throughout the pay pause year the employers were able to stall the Confederation's demands, and finally—three months after the pay pause period was officially over—they succeeded in getting the Confederation to agree to a 3 per cent increase (to take effect only from July 9). The 'break-through' of the Government's 2½ per cent limit, after a year's delay, won just over a penny in the pound extra.

In the meantime, while the 'guiding light' has suffered only occasional and partial black-outs, the other side of the Government's policy has been in full operation: the deliberate raising of the cost of living—inflation By Order—so that what the workers compel the Government to lose on the wages swings it gains on the price roundabouts. *Labour Research* (July) shows how this was done.

Some of the price increases during the year were due to previous Government measures (housing costs rose by 5 per cent, due to the steady working out of the Rent Act and, in the case of Council houses, to the high rate of interest on Council loans). Other increases followed Government measures deliberately taken in conjunction with its pay pause—the higher rates of purchase tax and other taxes after July, 1961, which brought higher prices for clothing and footwear, furniture, cigarettes and tobacco, beer and spirits, fuel oil and petrol (these latter resulting in higher bus fares);

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the increases in telephone and postal charges; the cutting of the welfare food subsidies and the new 15 per cent tax on sweets. These deliberately inflationary measures ('It is a mystery to me how you help to keep down the cost of living by putting it up', said the chairman of B.E.T. Omnibus Services) and their more indirect consequences have resulted in a 7 per cent rise—up to June—in the cost of living, which has to be compared with the 'guiding light' of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for pay increases and the actual increases won, which are estimated at about 4 per cent overall.

So, by and large, the Government has succeeded in carrying out the major aim of its pay pause policy—of which the pay pause itself was only one arm—not merely to keep wages from rising, but to make a substantial cut in real wages and salaries over almost the entire employed population, apart from the few sections which have won increases of over 7 per cent. And as most of the demands for pay increases have now already been settled, this means that only a new round of claims, backed by readiness to take action to enforce them, can recover the ground lost, let alone make any improvement.

In fact, the position of the wage or salary worker is even worse than appears from these figures, because they take no account of increased productivity. The Government's case was that wage increases must be related to the rise in productivity on a national scale (that is, total production), which it estimated at about 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent this year. Far from getting even this modest increment, *in real terms* average wages and salaries show a minus, not a plus.

What of its wages policy for the future as set out in the White Paper *Incomes Policy: The Next Step*—described in *The Times* editorial already quoted as aiming 'to introduce a rational incomes policy so that nationally negotiated wage increases could be kept within accepted limits in future'? The most sinister fact from the standpoint of wage and salary workers is that the General Council of the Trades Union Congress has agreed to serve on the National Economic Development Council—the employers' and the Government's instrument for securing prior agreement from right wing trade union leaders on 'accepted limits' in wage negotiations.

From the start of the pay pause the right wing leadership of the Labour Party and trade unions accepted the Government's general argument that pay increases must be kept in line with increased productivity. They could hardly do otherwise, because their own policy documents (for example, *Plan for Progress*) use the same argument. With this outlook, it is easy to understand why they

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been unwilling to lead the fight against the pay pause in principle, and why the Government and the employers depend on their backing for 'restraint' in the coming period. What, after all, has been the purpose of the Government's policy? Not merely in general to keep up profits for the ruling class in spite of a shaky economic position, but for the particular purpose of lowering real wages in preparation for competition in the Common Market. Here again that section of the Labour Party and trade union leadership which supports Britain's entry into the Common Market (even if it pretends to sit on the fence) necessarily accepts also the consequences —cut-throat competition between the monopolies, fought on the basis of lowering real wages.

But if the Government's policy of reducing real wages and subsequently keeping wage increases 'within accepted limits' is by no means in ruins, this is not to say that it has been carried through without repercussions. The main sections against which the policy became effective were those in public employment, including teachers and other professional workers. This, together with accumulated resentment at the operation of the Rent Act and cuts in social service plans, together with the developing peace movement and opposition to the Common Market, has undermined the Tories in the 'middle sections' on whom they depend for electoral support. Hence the swing away from the Tories and, because of the lack of a fighting Labour policy, the swing to the Liberals. though at rock-bottom their policy too is the same as that of the Tories, for they too are a capitalist party.

Therefore the Government, which in July, 1961, seemed fairly secure, and felt strong enough even to discard negotiating machinery in order to get its policy through, is now in a very different position, and has to drop its strong-arm pose. Hence the hints of a second stage in its wages policy, the easing of the wage-freeze, the statement that consideration will be given to the claims of special groups, and the propaganda that the wages policy has achieved its purpose and Britain's improved economic position now makes it possible to relax.

But experience confirms that concessions on the part of the Government and the employers are made only when the pressure is irresistible. Only irresistible pressure along a broad front, industrial and political, for substantial advances in real wages, and against the Common Market with its perspective of an intensified drive against the living standards of the British people, can really reduce to ruins not only its 'Incomes Policy' but the Government itself.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties

DOCKERS and DECASUALISATION

W. Lindley

General Secretary, Watermen, Lightermen, Tugmen and Bargemen's Union.

SINCE I wrote in the July, 1961, *Labour Monthly* about the problem of decasualisation in the Docks Industry, the National Joint Council for the Port Transport Industry has realised that the casual nature of the dockworkers' job is a cancer which must be removed quickly if the trade is to survive and prosper. So serious is this issue that the Council set up a Working Party to consider the whole problem and to make recommendations which it is hoped, if acceptable, would effectively remove this cause of discontent. On the basis of these recommendations the National Joint Council issued a very broad statement of principles and asked all local port joint committees to examine the possibility of implementing them on a local basis. Basically these principles envisage preserving the Dock Labour Scheme as far as possible, and urge the engagement of a large majority of the existing labour force on a weekly basis. In return for the benefits anticipated the dockers would be expected to review certain existing protective practices with a view to relaxing them and so providing for greater efficiency.

This policy directive is being discussed by the various local joint committees throughout the country but the results of their deliberations have been delayed due to the recent threatened national docks strike. At this stage it would be prudent for us all to consider very seriously how far these proposals go to resolving the basic underlying cause of all the disputes in dockland. I do not think that they will be the final answer and support them merely as an interim measure. While it may be true that they are steps in the right direction, when one looks closer into the problem they seem only timid steps forward and in themselves fraught with danger.

We have first of all to decide what we really mean when we say 'let us decasualise dock work'. Do we mean the permanent employment of dockworkers or merely weekly engagement by the various, in fact, too numerous, individual dock employers? If we mean the latter, then we create more problems than we solve. A large force of dockers will be engaged on the weekly basis, the chosen ones leaving still a considerable force of casual workers on the daily dock register. There will be no guarantee that even these chosen men will always remain weekly or regularly employed. This will still

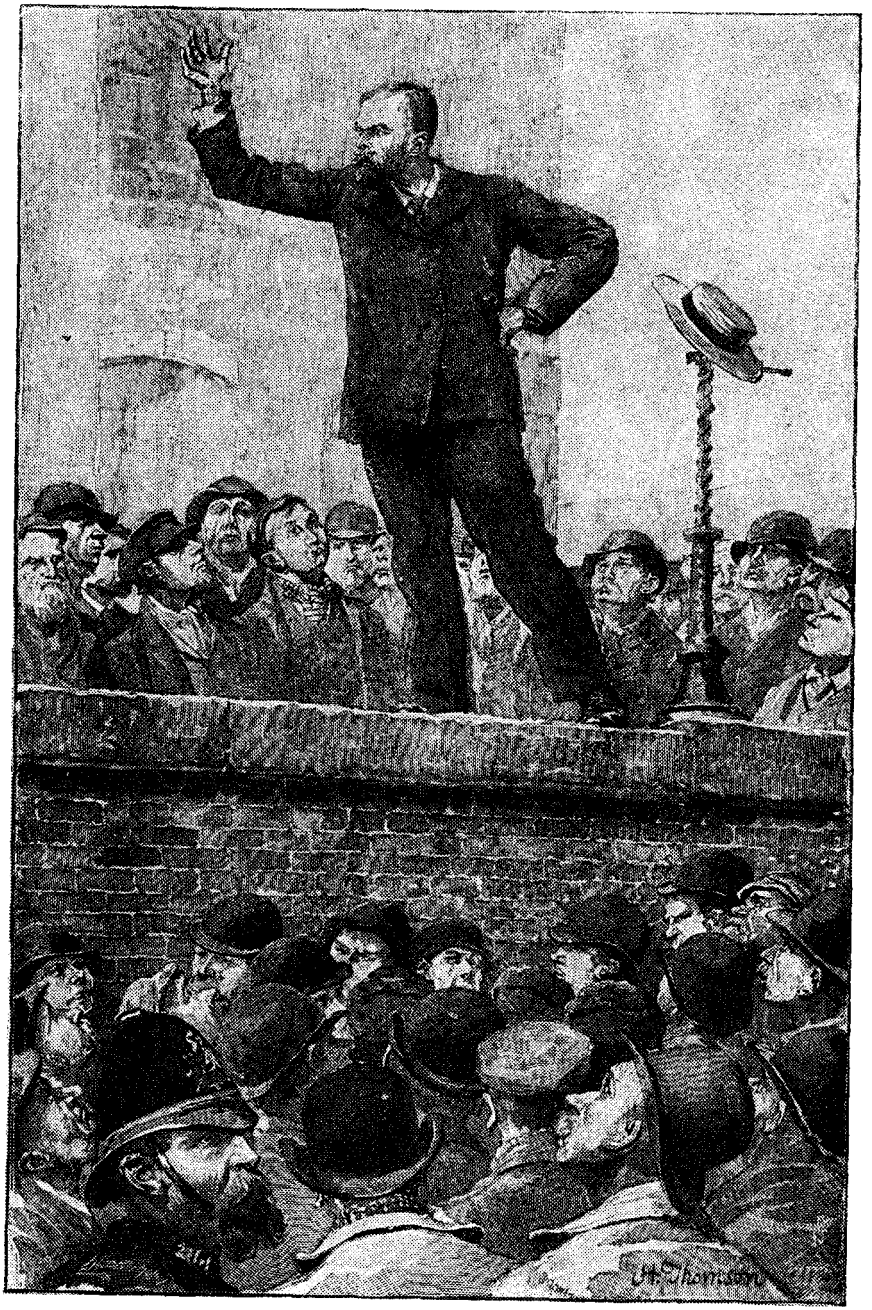
PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

depend on the state of trade in the docks or the personal prosperity of the particular company by which they are employed. More important to us as trade unionists, the introduction of this Scheme will create a disparity between workers doing a similar job and therefore divide our ranks. If on the other hand we are endeavouring, as I am sure we are, to give all men real security then surely we must establish permanency of engagement not only for a section of men but all the men we represent and so establish not only unity of purpose but an equalisation of opportunity and all that goes with it. To achieve this will only be possible by strengthening the authority of the Dock Labour Scheme and not weakening it by encouraging employers to employ greater numbers of weekly workers who would as such no longer be the responsibility of the London Dock Labour Board. Only by retaining the Scheme in its present form can we maintain our existing joint control over the employment of men and more important, the activities of the employers in relation to their employment of dock labour.

I am firmly convinced that there should be only one direct employer of all dock labour throughout the whole of this Industry and that employer must be the National Dock Labour Board. This means the complete elimination of the private dock employers as we understand them today. It would also mean that the workers themselves would have to accept a large measure of control and also the abolition of many of their so-called privileges. One thing such a system would bring about is the abolition of one of the dock-workers' anachronisms, the so-called 'free call'. This deplorable ritual which the dockers perform every morning and afternoon of their lives when they are seeking work is difficult for the civilised layman to appreciate.

Every morning and afternoon whatever the weather, hundreds of men seeking a day's work stand at the allocated 'call stands' and wait to be selected by the foreman or ganger of a particular firm. The ganger does this by personal choice and obviously such a system leads to and encourages favouritism and possibly in some cases corruption among workers. Most free calls are made in the open on the kerbside, and it is a degrading sight to witness men, good upright trade unionists, solid working-class men, being herded together like so many hundreds of sheep or cattle to be selected for work for this or that employer at the whim of the working foreman. No wonder that the sites where the calls are made have, over the years, been nicknamed the 'pens'; no word was more apt. Surely we

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



JOHN BURNS ADDRESSING DOCKERS ON TOWER HILL IN 1889.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have reached a stage in our emancipation when this sort of thing can be dispensed with in dockland. This practice was considered wrong and anti-social in the days of Dickens. It has been subjected to adverse comment and criticism by every social reformer over the years but still many dockers and stevedores consider it a right, in fact a privilege to continue with the so-called democratic 'free call'.

We in the Lighterage Industry had a similar practice in the past, in fact up to the commencement of the last war, but we called it not the 'free call' but 'poverty corner'. When the Dock Labour Scheme came into being we saw our opportunity to get rid of this archaic system and now our people attend their respective sector offices and are directed to work in a dignified manner and on a rota system. No man can be refused work by an employer because his face does not fit, or overlooked by a foreman for some personal reason, or by-passed in favour of a relative. If it is his turn to start work according to the rota he goes to work as a right and not by favour. This could be achieved by the mass of dockers if the Board's Officers were given the right to direct men to work at the call times in the first instance and not, as at present, direction of the residue of workers that are left for allocation after the 'free call' has been completed.

The establishment of Training Schools for newly enlisted dockworkers has meant that the capabilities of the men are very much alike. This strengthens my argument that men should be directed on rota and not called by favour at the 'free call'. As employers require labour it should be indented for and sent direct by the Dock Sector Manager or his staff to the particular shed or ship for work and this system could quickly lead to the establishment of only one call a day being made and certainly would lead to equalisation of wages among dockworkers. I must make it clear that I envisage this method of employing dock labour as a temporary one which would lead us towards the day when the whole dock labour force throughout the whole of the national docks system would be operated and controlled by the National Dock Labour Board or similar national body on a pattern that at present prevails in parts of London today that are under the control of the Port of London Authority. The time will come when in the interest of efficiency and service to the community as well as the welfare of the dockworker, all labour in the docks will be permanently, and I emphasise the word 'permanently', employed by one employer, who will be responsible for the maintenance of the docks and discharge of all ships throughout the United Kingdom. Only a statutory body such

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the Board, carrying with it Government authority, could perform this function and thereby guarantee full and permanent employment and adequate wages to a national dock labour force.

The major point to consider is that under my scheme dock employers, including the Port of London Authority as employers of dockers, would be eliminated. The Board would not be a joint one; it would be run by the workpeople's side and therefore the men would be readier to consider the introduction of modern methods and the removal of restrictive practices as they would be well aware that their future livelihood was protected and that the introduction of mechanical aids would not be for the purpose of displacing them but improving efficiency within the Port. With these basic reforms achieved we would aim at reducing the present labour force by natural wastage, at increasing the present pension payments and as far as possible lowering the pensionable age. We could seek the establishment of a Sick Pay Scheme and there would be room for improvements in the social, medical and welfare services within the docks.

Having referred to the Port of London Authority's operations, I must make it abundantly clear that one fundamental difference in administration would take place. The Port of London Authority is at present governed by a Board composed of representatives of all interests adjoining or using the River Thames and its Docks, except the dockworkers. Not one seat on the Board of the Port of London Authority is allocated to the workers' representatives. It is true that two trade union officers are serving on the Board but they are not there in their capacity of workers' representatives but as representatives of the London County Council and the Ministry of Transport and both are there under the patronage of these bodies. They are not there as representatives of their trade union, neither are they there as a right. One could hardly, under these circumstances, describe the Authority as a democratic fully representative body.

I look forward to the day when the dockworker of this country will be able to arrive at the docks dressed in a decent manner and proceed to change into his working clothes in properly equipped changing rooms, where he would have his own locker and when he has finished work there will be hot showers available for a good wash and clean-up before he goes home. Also special berths could be made available for the ships carrying or loading extremely dirty cargoes such as carbon black or bone or fish meal.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If it was considered essential for the well-being of the nation, docks could be worked round the clock on a shift system, and this would mean an increased labour force of some 54,000 men in London alone; but only a national body could tackle this sort of problem realistically. It would be impossible to introduce such a shift system today in view of the multiplicity of dock employers who only need small numbers of men at a time when it suits them. Many of the present small dock employers only require labour during certain seasonal periods but each demand the right to have dockers available as and when they require them and they play merry hell with all concerned if there are not any dockers 'hanging on the hook' waiting for their specific convenience. The time has come to be rid of as many of these small dock employers as possible, to make way for the ultimate elimination of all dock employers.

The task of completely decasualising the job of the dockers, stevedores, tally clerks and lightermen and providing them with a permanent wage packet cannot be carried out by private enterprise. The statutory Dock Labour Scheme only allows us to do part of the job, it must be strengthened to allow us to become the absolute employer of labour if it is to survive and fulfil its original intentions.

Such a step would be to start the long trek along the road of socialism and would lead to our avowed goal, the nationalisation of the docks as part of our policy of public ownership of the basic means of distribution. Only when the dockers take control of their own destiny in the service of the community will there be permanent peace within the docks.

DELEGATES AT CONFERENCES:

1. SHIPBUILDERS AND ENGINEERS

'Confed'

AN old hand at the Annual Meeting of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering unions growled when he saw the agenda. 'We'd do better to remit the whole bag of tricks to the executive and spend the rest of the week planning a wages campaign'. Mind, he was wrong; but you could see his point of view.

Still, by and large, useful resolutions were passed: some of them would certainly shake things up if they ever got implemented—and there is no reason why they should not, if rank and file members lay hold of them. The guaranteed week, a Government development council and a scrap-and-build programme for shipbuilding; public

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ownership and emergency measures to meet redundancy in aircraft; stopping closedown of railways and bringing in an integrated transport policy; overtime at double time with none conditional or compulsory, permitted hours brought down from 30 to 20 a month; night shift premium of time and a half. In addition there was a lively debate on the Common Market, when everyone claimed that he was against entry except with a host of guarantees (which could be argued about for years after we have been dragged in): and some people—the minority—actually were inflexibly against entry.

But with 'the Confed.' when it comes down to bedrock, what really counts is how to wrench more wages out of the shipbuilding and engineering employers, who have done very nicely indeed in the past decade, thanks very much. So what was stirring in the Meeting, sometimes in the hall, sometimes behind scenes, was: the effect of pay pause; the whys and wherefores of the ballot, the campaign or lack of it and who dropped the spanner in the works; a certain feeling in the air that we should finish up this lot and get on to the next round of negotiations; whether to go all out for a £2 flat increase on the minimum time rates; what about wages structure and women's wages: and, above all, whether the machinery of the Confederation could be adapted to make it an organisation through which a militant lead could be given, and employers and Government told fairly and squarely where to get off.

Seen from the rostrum the Annual Meeting of the Confederation presents a unique audience. We are a tough lot; a very high proportion come from the upper levels of full-time trade union officials, with the voice of the workshop a far (and faint) cry off. Grey is our predominant hair colouring; we have a professional's knowledge of the negotiator's tricks, and a sensitive nose to detect compromise. We respect brains and a well-prepared factual case; but we feel most at ease with a speaker who shows his years of experience: rhetoric leaves us cold. We start slowly. The first day is taken up by a roll call and the presidential address which this year was by Harold Poole (Sheet Metal and Coppersmiths). Then, one by one, printed District Committee Reports are formally presented, with each district official monotonously intoning 'Nothing to add'. A spectator might have thought—wrongly—that there never had been a wages campaign. But at this stage everyone was saying nowt—except the unbelievable Jim Matthews (General and Municipal) who added to his list of studied indiscretions by lecturing shipyard workers because of stoppages.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President Harold Poole had warned that improved conditions would never fall into our laps without a struggle and that an open clash with the employers was inevitable; if we had got to fight we should choose the right moment. No one took up his point until Reg Birch (Engineers) speaking on W. J. Carron's Engineering Sub-Committee Report, said that the campaign had been at a standstill, instead of being stepped up after the ballot—and the employers might have thought we were confounded. Whilst employers could get little comfort in fact from the ballot, the point was to intensify the campaign and encourage our members to do so. Carron turned up his eyes meekly to heaven and replied that he could only report on what had been done: *he* couldn't take it upon himself to lay down policy and so on and so forth. But nevertheless, Birch had hit the nail on the head. We went straight on to the main wages resolution repudiating the Government's pay policy, backed by 'every means at our disposal'. Jimmy Jarvie (Blacksmiths), who learned how to fight during the General Strike as a very small boy in a Fife mining village, moved this resolution and pointed out shrewdly that the Government's pay-pause policy had by and large succeeded; for some increases had been 'successfully' rejected, others deferred, and others held down to the miserable $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the Government's 'guiding light'.

Seconding, W. Cockin (Engineers) remarked that the skilled would need 7s. and the unskilled 12s. 6d. to bring their wages up to the real level they enjoyed in December, 1960. Practically a quarter of the engineers were on the shocking basic rates of 164s. 10d. for unskilled and 195s. 2d. for the skilled. Speaking to a resolution demanding an increase of £2 on the minimum time rate moved by Les Kealey (Transport and General), an icy wind of change from over the Scottish border was felt when E. Patterson (Constructional Engineers) said that in many parts of Scotland overtime was stopped and people were actually on those shocking minimum rates, so it was a question of the utmost urgency. Obviously it is time those of us in more pampered parts of Britain stop saying: 'I'm all right, Jock'. A number of speakers while expressing their sympathy with Kealey's objective—he has moved for the improvement of minimum rates four years running—asked him to refer this resolution to the executive, since you could not have two general claims pending. The inimitable Matthews reassuringly said he was quite sure it would be pursued as soon as the current claim was disposed of; because we should be 'on safe ground' there, as the employers had

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

already said they were with us on this, and prepared to discuss an increase of minimum rates. Matthews earned himself a round of laughter; what could you do but laugh—that, or break something? It was referred; and whilst it is likely to be the basis of the next claim, it must be remembered that before it could go forward the Amalgamated Engineering Union's National Committee has to be recalled to consider the fate of the current claim. So it may yet not be in until autumn: and who knows what may happen by then? So—watch it, skilled and unskilled!

There were two more good wages resolutions, both involving women's wages and also the lower paid. The Belfast delegate of the Transport and General moved the first, calling for women's wages to be treated as 'one of extreme urgency'. He pointed out how far behind other European countries we were on equal pay, and praised the female members who 'had voted solidly for strike action' in Belfast. His suggestions included a national conference of all unions negotiating for women engineers to see what members were ready to do, and give the women a greater sense of solidarity with them; and also a sub-committee of such unions set up. Seconding, Les Gregory (Electricians) said it not only affected half a million women, but as many more men at least, because the breakdown of jobs and grading as women's work was going on increasingly. Marion Veitch (General and Municipal), who is now the first woman elected to the Confederation Executive Committee (and high time), moved a resolution demanding that a scheme for wage structure, with special reference to women, should be pressed: one had first been submitted in 1948, and surely it was time it was got on with. She rubbed it in that many more jobs were now being classed in various categories which had never been done by any but women; and without proper financial recognition it was going to be very dangerous with automation increasing at such a pace here and in western Europe.

So that was the main business; on wages the storm brewing overhead but not yet broken, still partly sheltered, yet with the cold winds threatening unemployment and general uncertainty about Britain's capitalist economy; much as the east wind gusts swept up Yarmouth's long narrow rows from the Common Market countries across the cold North Sea. But there was one incident which warmed the hearts of some of our hardest headed colleagues; the re-election of Frank Foulkes to the Confederation's Executive Committee. I remembered the speeches made two years ago at Llandudno, when he was the retiring President of the Confederation.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We had never, we said, had such a good and skilful president. It was true: and he is the same man today. We know, you know.

2. THE WOODWORKERS

Leo McGree

The Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers is one of the oldest craft trade unions in this country, and celebrated its centenary in June, 1960. It is the largest union in the Building Trades; a member of the Confederation and the Furnishing Trades Federation.

At the recent Delegate Conference held in Portsmouth there were many resolutions on the agenda dealing with problems from tea breaks to the Common Market, from the arts to nuclear tests. Arising out of the General Secretary's Annual Report, we discussed the membership, which showed an increase of 4,056 members over the past two years, giving a total membership of 193,298 members. On figures that are obtained from the Ministry of Labour from time to time, it would appear that there are some further 50,000 woodworkers in the various industries who are non-unionists. The building and civil engineering industry employs some $1\frac{1}{2}$ million operatives of whom half a million are non-unionists. Conference therefore welcomed the campaign initiated by the Federation for a great recruitment campaign, with a quarter of a million leaflets to be distributed on the job.

Opposition was expressed on the General Secretary's report regarding finance where we had a deficit of £15,428 and his suggestion that the Annual Conference should be held every two years instead of annually, thereby saving £7,500. As the deficit will soon be wiped out by the increased contributions which only commenced last October, there was no fear of bankruptcy. We spent £17,443 on Trade Privileges (strike pay) which is money well spent in the struggle against the employer's attempt to worsen the working conditions.

On wages, Conference demanded that the Executive Council submit a claim for a wage increase of 1s. 6d. per hour for our members, in all industries, and failing to achieve this, consult the membership on further action. A further resolution demanding a basic rate of £15 15s. 0d. per week was remitted to the Executive Council. The speeches showed the complete refusal of the woodworkers even to consider the plea for a pay pause, but also their resentment at the prolonged negotiations on their demand for a substantial wage advance, having waited ten months for the last increase to be implemented.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The main discussion took place on the Common Market and the National Economic Development Council. On the Common Market the Executive Council took the line of the Labour Party that we must await the result of the discussions as to the terms of our entry. The General Secretary wrote in his Annual Report that he was 'still unable to make up my mind'. The supporters of the motion stressed the rôle of monopoly capitalism, and the pressure of Kennedy on Macmillan to join and thus strengthen the Nato forces against the countries of socialism. On being put to conference the resolution opposing Britain's entry into the Common Market was carried by 86 to 78 after one of the best political debates of Conference.

In view of the appalling increase in accidents in the construction industry and the need to observe the Building Regulations, great importance was attached to the resolution dealing with accidents, and calling for 'a guarantee of Executive Council backing where members refuse to work on scaffolding which was not in conformity with the Regulations'.

One of the most hotly contested resolutions, the Chairman refusing to call for Tellers, was the narrow vote on a resolution opposing the T.U.C. joining 'Neddy'. As usual the platform gave us the line of the General Council (*i.e.*, our living standards ultimately depend on how much we can produce) while from the floor the Left argued that the present Government were only concerned in planning for profit, and increased productivity certainly did not result in higher wages. On being put to the vote the Chairman declared the resolution defeated.

We had a splendid address from the General Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, who called for closer unity amongst the building unions while the conference itself passed a resolution that 'every effort should be made to form one union for the building and civil engineering industries'.

Two important and topical resolutions were dealt with as emergency resolutions, one expressing full support for the Nurses' claim and calling upon our Executive Council to ensure that the A.S.W. delegation to the T.U.C. later this year supports Congress on behalf of these workers who are unable to withdraw their labour. The other resolution expressed solidarity and support for the workers of Spain 'and their efforts to win better conditions' and calls upon the T.U.C. to organise financial support and demonstrations for solidarity as speedily as possible.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

3. THE RAILWAYMEN

Stan Mills

ALTHOUGH the political decisions of the Annual General Meeting of the National Union of Railwaymen were—with one or two exceptions—fairly successful, they contrasted sharply with the weak nature of the domestic decisions, the results of which will become apparent in the not too distant future. As was expected there were a considerable number of resolutions on the closing of lines and services. These were composited and the motion was debated in public. Unfortunately the composite motion was extremely weak and, as was pointed out, does nothing to deter Dr. Beeching and the Tory Government from carrying out their intended policies. No mention of using the industrial strength of the union was incorporated in the resolution, and, as many delegates pointed out, nothing less than industrial action would make the government think twice about their intended aims. Most delegates realised that although much could be achieved by determined and resolute action, the whole question was ultimately a political one. In spite of its weakness the motion opposing Government policy on transport was carried unanimously.

Perhaps the most tragic of all the decisions was the one on wages. and particularly on the acceptance of the 3 per cent last April by the National Executive Committee. A composite motion was presented which contained nothing about backing up our claim with industrial action. There is little doubt that a resolution calling for a substantial wage increase, based on the Guillebaud principles, would have been carried unanimously, but for the fact that the composite motion called for a Special General Meeting, if the claim was not conceded by October 31, 1962. The platform had little difficulty in persuading the majority of delegates that technically speaking this was impossible. This technicality caused the motion to fall by 41 to 34. This was followed by an appeal against the acceptance of the 3 per cent last April. In spite of the widespread dissatisfaction by railwaymen at the acceptance of the 3 per cent, the platform persuaded the delegates that it was the best that could be done under the adverse circumstances. The appeal was lost by 49 votes to 23.

On the political front the resolution on the unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons, from Croydon, was lost by 43 to 32. In my opinion, the large minority vote was certainly encouraging, particularly when one considers that it was only seven votes short of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

victory that was gained in 1960. Another resolution from Croydon was more successful. The motion opposed nuclear weapons testing by all countries and called on the British trade union and labour movement to give a lead by announcing that Britain should not support, or carry out, the further testing of nuclear weapons. It was carried by 43 votes to 32, in spite of opposition from the platform, as was a resolution opposing the arming of West Germany with nuclear weapons, and the training of West German and French troops in Britain, by 61 to 13.

The platform was successful in persuading the delegates not to support a composite motion from eight branches which opposed both N.U.R. and T.U.C. participation in the Tory Government's N.E.D.C. In spite of strong arguments from the floor supporting the motion, it was defeated by 48-27. Many delegates thought it was the task of the Labour movement to campaign for the overthrow of the Tories, but the majority, while not supporting Tory policies, thought that as long as the Tories are in power, that it was necessary to have T.U.C. representatives to make sure that our point of view is heard.

Conference then went on to pass unanimously a resolution from Stockport which called for opposition to the Government's White Paper on 'Incomes Policy—The Next Step'.

The Common Market came next and was debated in public on a resolution from Croydon, which stated: 'That this A.G.M. opposes Britain's entry into the Common Market'. The General Secretary—Mr. Sidney Greene—tried to persuade delegates that the resolution was too dogmatic, and that it would be far better to support T.U.C. and Labour Party policy of 'Wait and See'. In spite of this, the majority of delegates thought that entry would restrict freedom of a future Labour government in carrying out policies based on social planning and public ownership. It was stressed that the European Economic Community was mainly a political weapon of big business, which would do nothing to ease the present tension between East and West. The motion was carried by 45-30.

In conclusion, just a brief observation on two items which I am sure will be of great interest. First, Conference turned down a resolution from Kentish Town by 71-4, which would have committed the union to discriminate against foreign and coloured labour. And secondly, an appeal from Glasgow which opposed the Executive's decision in protesting to the U.S. Embassy, at the persecution of the U.S. Communist Party, was defeated unanimously.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSES AND PARTIES TODAY

E. M. Winterton

A LEADING article in *The Times* (July 2), discussing the present prospects of the Liberal Party, suggested that support for the Liberals 'is not rooted in class or economic interest, *in which English political parties have historically been grounded, however anxious they may have been to suppress or sublimate the knowledge*'. This was an incautious admission, but all the more valuable for that, coming from the traditional mouthpiece of the higher interests of British finance-capital. And in spite of the quite untrue remark about the Liberals, it was a timely reminder. The class question, which is the question of who owns the means of production, is the key to all the distracting issues of British politics in August, 1962.

What was the lesson for Socialists of the Pilkington report on television and of the controversy which it began? Not how much better I.T.V. or B.B.C. television could be run; but how the great capitalist monopolies, in the press and elsewhere, who control I.T.V. put profits first, not culture or morality—and how they join with the more genteel B.B.C. in virtually suppressing or drowning the views of the only consistent anti-capitalists, the Communists. What is the lesson of the agonised protests of the Lancashire cotton industry against what Labour M.P.s on June 28 rightly called its 'murder', and what Tories said was treating it as 'a sick industry' and 'expendable'? Above all, that the Tory Government is forcing re-equipment and reorganisation on a scale, and in a way, which only the biggest trusts and the great banks and finance houses can afford. Who derives benefit from the incredible speculation in land and urban housing—which has led to a situation in London when 'only the most prosperous wage-earning families can now afford to buy a house', while the 3,884 homeless people were 'mostly young couples with families who cannot afford to compete in the hunt for homes in London' (*Daily Herald,* June 27)? Who—if not the great property-owning trusts, one of the mainstays of the Tory Party?

The fact is that the Tories have done much more for their own class since they came into power than the Labour Government did for the workers between 1945 and 1951. All the measures of nationalisation and social welfare during those years were carefully devised so as not to shift the balance of economic and financial power in the direction of the working class. No capitalist lost his right to go on sharing in the surplus value produced by the working class in its labour-time, or had it diminished. But by their profitable

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resale of the steel industry, their turn to private enterprise in modernising the coal and railway industries, their closing down of large sections of the railways in the interests of oil trusts and road transport firms, their manipulation of the Rent Act to make it not only a direct disaster for the workers but a gigantic piece of swindling and class-robbery—by all these and similar means the Tories (who *are* the capitalist class in its most powerful embodiment) have pushed the working class back, in a way only partially and indirectly reflected by the constantly rising cost of living index. And they seek without interruption to extend their advantage.

Here comes in the direct threat of the Common Market. The General Council of the T.U.C. in a memorandum on July 1 gently reproved the authors of the Treaty of Rome for not being sufficiently concerned about the welfare of the people, and 'warned' the Tory Government to be more circumspect about this (as though either the Six or Macmillan cared!). Nevertheless it contained a clear indictment of the economic and social perils of the Common Market for Britain. But no less dangerous is the fact—not being pushed into the forefront by the Marketeers if they can help it—that the Americans who are pressing Britain on this question want to see 'a politically and militarily united Western Europe' (*Daily Telegraph*, Geneva correspondent, March 3), and therefore wish to keep out neutrals like Switzerland, Sweden and Austria, even as associates, because this would 'reduce the E.E.C. to an ordinary commercial organisation' (American official sources quoted by the *Daily Telegraph*, April 4). Such a United Europe, said the French Foreign Minister in a Columbia Broadcast interview, would be 'a strong ally of the United States' (*The Times* Paris correspondent, June 1). The latter needed all the political, economic and military power it could get 'to defend itself against the aggressive policies of Communism', said the West German Foreign Minister a few days later (*The Times* Dortmund correspondent, June 5).

Now experience since 1945 has shown again and again that 'defence against Communism' is the standard American State Department patter for aggression against China, attacks on the Soviet Union and maintenance of every rotten feudal dictatorship in the world. And Mr. Heath, the Government's negotiator, as long ago as April 10, assured the Common Market Ministers of Britain's desire, too, for a 'European Union' which would be political as well as economic—'an aggregate of power standing shoulder to shoulder with the United States' with its own 'European point of view on

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

defence', aiming at 'great advances in European co-operation over defence production, research and development'. He pleaded indeed for the neutrals because 'all three are politically stable and staunchly anti-Communist'.

Thus the Common Market is to become the economic foundation for an up-to-date 'anti-Komintern Pact', like Hitler's twenty-five years ago, but this time really planning war on the Socialist states. British Labour support of the Market would mean harnessing the British workers to this war-chariot, on top of all the other reverses they have suffered.

What policies do the right wing Labour leaders put up against this wholesale and unremitting offensive? They were well summed up in the tribute paid to Gaitskell and his colleagues by *The Times* political correspondent on July 2—that 'Clause Four has been diluted after all' (that is to say, the monopolies have received their assurance of security). The control of the Labour Party by its Parliamentary spokesmen, he went on, 'has been measurably increased', and thus 'the changes that the leadership were vainly fighting for, two years ago, are now being conceded to them without a struggle'. Nor did their official opponent, Mr. Crossman, question these facts in a letter to *The Times* two days later (though he rightly underlined that the new policy had won no votes—a remarkable understatement—and hinted that in fact it was producing the Liberal revival).

For this very reason, no doubt, the capitalist class is looking still further ahead for new victories. The Tory Party has always had its irregular forces on its fringes, riding in front of the main body with their own wildcat schemes—which become not so wildcat if the results of the probe are satisfactory. Such in recent years have been the proposals of Sir Alan (A.P.) Herbert to introduce charges for borrowing books from the public libraries: the demands that charges be made for primary education in the State schools: and (a recent example in *The Times* of June 21) the suggestion that plural voting be reintroduced, *i.e.*, that extra votes be given to 'the leaders of our professional, business and commercial classes'. The Government's rejection of the Bill to prohibit race-hate propaganda, Tory Ministers' refusal on June 28 to take any action against the vicious British Nazis before their Trafalgar Square meeting on July 1, the arrests and fining of anti-Nazis while no action was taken against the fascist blackguards, was another reminder that, as with the Tory Government in the thirties, when the capitalists feel they are on top they know no restraint.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And the Labour leaders? They know *only* restraint, not to say capitulation. The day after the scornful *Times* report on their successes, quoted earlier, they were faced with a resolution from 55 Labour M.P.s denouncing 'giant corporations and private financial trusts', and demanding extension of public ownership. But on July 5 it was made known that, bowing to explicit disapproval from their Shadow Cabinet, the M.P.s had removed a specific reference to nationalisation of the chemical industry. And the same day Gaitskell and other leaders gave visible signs of their disapproval when Anthony Greenwood and Emanuel Shinwell pressed the Government for time to debate even this 'safer' motion. It is not surprising that one can always find in the capitalist press advice to the Labour leaders to push on with their repudiation of socialist policy and its advocates. They should 'decide carefully which organisations seek to wean Labour Party members away from their belief in democracy, proscribe them and make automatic expulsion the penalty for association with these bodies'. For, wrote the learned pundit—'those Labour men who enthusiastically accept Clause Four of the party Constitution obviously have a lot in common with the Communists on economics' (*Guardian*, June 27). Yes, and not only on economics: on Socialism.

Today, when hints are multiplying that the Tories are working out their General Election strategy—the Government reshuffle is a sign—these things need to be remembered and acted on. Mr. Crossman did right to recall in his letter of July 4 the experiences of the Labour Governments of 1924 and 1929 which, depending on Liberal votes, forgot their 'Socialist commitments'—because the policy of Gaitskell and his associates points to a repetition of these experiences. But Mr. Crossman did not draw the obvious conclusions. To enlarge the membership of the Communist Party today, to widen its influence for 'Socialist commitments' in the trade unions, to strengthen its ties with the hundreds of thousands of Labour Party working men and women, who have 'a lot in common with the Communists', means not only strengthening the resistance to anti-Socialist, Liberal influences within the Labour Party. It helps to substitute Socialist leadership of the working class for pro-capitalist, surrender 'leadership'. It means beating back the capitalist offensive and turning it into rout—so that, both in the next General Election and after it, conditions are created for laying the axe this time to the very roots of the capitalist system.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Desmond Buckle

THE United Nations General Assembly on June 28, 1962, the last day of its 16th session, administered a sharp rebuff to British imperialism on the question of Southern Rhodesia and the right of the vast majority of its inhabitants, the African population, to exercise to the full the same functional democratic and civil liberties as the whites. The resolution on Southern Rhodesia, which was sponsored by 38 Asian and African countries, 'noted with regret' that the United Kingdom had not yet taken steps to transfer all powers to the people of Southern Rhodesia, as required by the General Assembly's Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The resolution also approved the conclusions of the Special Committee of Seventeen on Southern Rhodesia 'that the territory of Southern Rhodesia is a non-self-governing territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the United Nations' Charter'.

Britain was asked to undertake urgently the convening of a constitutional conference to frame a new constitution in place of that of December 6, 1961. It was requested that this conference should include 'full participation of representatives of all political parties', and that the new constitution should 'ensure the rights of the majority of the people, on the basis of "one man, one vote" ', in conformity with the principles of the United Nations' Charter and the Declaration on Colonialism. The inclusion of the phrase 'on the basis of "one man, one vote" ', was the result of an amendment proposed by the Bulgarian delegate, and this was adopted by a vote of 55 in favour to 1 (South Africa) against. There were 42 abstentions and 4 absent. The United Kingdom and Portugal preferred to take no part in the voting.

Britain was also asked to take 'immediate steps' to 'restore all rights' of the non-European population and to remove 'all restraints and restrictions in law and in practice' on the exercise of the freedom of political activity, including all laws directly or indirectly sanctioning racial discrimination; to grant amnesty and to ensure the immediate release of all political prisoners. Finally, the General Assembly asked the Special Committee of Seventeen to 'continue its constructive efforts' toward the earliest implementation of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Declaration on Colonialism with regard to Southern Rhodesia 'in order to ensure its emergence into an independent African state'.

The final speaker in the debate, Sir Patrick Dean, the U.K. delegate, denounced the 38-Power draft resolution as 'ultra vires, unacceptable and impractical', and said its adoption would do more harm than good. He contended that the United Nations had no jurisdiction regarding Southern Rhodesia, which, he claimed, had had full internal self-government for almost 40 years. Because the United Kingdom disapproved, not only of the resolution itself, but of the proceedings as a whole, Sir Patrick announced that his delegation would not take part in any of the voting. In adopting this unvalorous course of action in the doubtful company of her oldest ally, Portugal, who herself was under great pressure from the same Special Committee of Seventeen to account for her brutalities in Angola, Britain sought to escape from even greater embarrassment and ignominy. For had she taken part in the voting she would have found that she could hardly have done less than South Africa and would have been obliged to join the Verwoerd-Vorster Police State in open opposition to the resolution on Southern Rhodesia.

The debate on Southern Rhodesia in the U.N. General Assembly really had its origins in the resolution presented by Mr. Khrushchov on October 12, 1960, on the question of Colonialism. He asked that this question should be debated in plenary session and not in the Assembly's Political Committee. On that memorable occasion Mr. Khrushchov's unanswerable indictment of colonialism's blood-stained record met with the enthusiastic approval of the representatives of the newly-independent countries, while the colonialists' own delegates squirmed in anger. Mr. Khrushchov reminded the Asian and African delegates that the fate of their brothers on the African continent greatly depended on them, and thereby impressed on them the urgency of the need to take active steps to secure the freedom of those African peoples who were still groaning under the yoke of colonialism. Mr. Khrushchov's resolution, though at first strongly opposed by the United States and Britain, was eventually adopted.

On December 14, 1960, a resolution on Colonialism, sponsored by all the African and Asian countries, and embodying a 'declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples' was adopted by the General Assembly by 89 votes to nil with 9 abstentions. It was nearly a year later when returning to the question of Colonialism that the General Assembly, on November 27, 1961, voted to create a 17-member Special Committee to make

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recommendations on how to implement the Assembly's 1960 Declaration on Colonialism. The resolution was adopted by 97 votes to nil with 4 abstentions (France, South Africa, Spain and the United Kingdom). It appears that on this occasion the imperialists were temporarily deserted by their friends. The United States, for instance, took advantage of the occasion to parade with no little ostentation in the borrowed garments of anti-colonialism to the discomfiture and at the expense of the old European imperialists.

Among the points of the Declaration on Colonialism which the Special Committee of Seventeen was expected to deal with were the following:

> The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the U.N. Charter, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.
>
> All peoples have the right of self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
>
> Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence; and
>
> Immediate steps should be taken, in trust and non-self-governing territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of these territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, and without any distinction as to race, creed, or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

On February 22, 1962, a resolution on Southern Rhodesia was introduced in the Trusteeship Committee by ten Afro-Asian countries and Yugoslavia. It asked the Assembly's Special Committee of Seventeen to 'consider whether the territory of Southern Rhodesia has attained a full measure of self-government' and to report to the Assembly's 17th Session.

This resolution, which in fact gave several months' respite to the Tory Government in dealing with the Southern Rhodesian problem, was rejected by the U.K. delegate who was joined by 20 other delegations in recording dissentient votes. Among them were the delegations from the older Dominions (Australia, Canada, and New Zealand), and the familiar henchmen of imperialism, the United States, France, Greece, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Spain and Turkey.

The sponsors of this resolution alleged that racial discrimination existed in Southern Rhodesia, asserted that the great majority of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the population had had no opportunity to express their views on the territory's Constitution, and maintained that only the General Assembly could decide whether a territory was non-self-governing and whether an administrating authority had the obligation to provide information under Article 73 of the U.N. Charter. Sir Hugh Foot for the United Kingdom objected strongly to the resolution. He claimed that as long ago as 1922 a referendum had been held in Southern Rhodesia on whether the people wanted 'responsible government' or union with South Africa. They had chosen self-government. Sir Hugh, however, quite naturally did not trouble to explain that the 'people' to whom he was referring were only a few thousand white settlers. He went on to declare that the Southern Rhodesian Government had no obligation to give information to the United Kingdom on its economic, social or educational policies, nor could the U.K. Government demand such information. Hence, ran Sir Hugh's facile argument, the British Government was not in a position to give the United Nations information which it did not itself receive.

Meanwhile, Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister. determined to preserve the principle of white supremacy was, with the delicacy and adroitness of some rogue rhinoceros, indulging in all manner of provocations against the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, was doing likewise in imitation in his territory.

In April, a 6-member sub-committee of the Special Committee of Seventeen came to London, led by the Committee's chairman, Mr. Chandra S. Jha of India, for conversations with British Government Ministers regarding the future of Southern Rhodesia. Reporting to Parliament the following month on the talks, Mr. Butler made it plain that they had not budged an inch. 'We are not prepared to make any further changes', he declared, referring to the Southern Rhodesian Constitution. When the U.N. General Assembly reconvened in June, Southern Rhodesia was not on the agenda, since the Assembly had endorsed the Trusteeship Committee's recommendation that the Special Committee should report on that territory to the 17th Session starting in September.

However, so urgent had the situation become that 41 African and Asian countries tabled a memorandum calling for the inclusion of the item on Southern Rhodesia. It said that the situation there was 'explosive' and that a new Constitution had been granted by the U.K. Government, whereby important reserve powers 'will be trans-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ferred to the present minority régime . . . based on the practice and policies of racial discrimination in disregard of the rights and aspirations of the vast majority of the territory's inhabitants'. Consideration of the subject at the Assembly's resumed session was, therefore, 'imperative', concluded the memorandum.

Contending that 'any debate at the United Nations about the situation in Southern Rhodesia goes beyond what is permissible under the U.N. Charter', Sir Patrick Dean said the onus must be on the proposers of the item 'to show beyond reasonable doubt that the situation in question is so urgent that it cannot wait until the regular session in September'. The General Committee decided by 9 votes against 7 with 5 abstentions to recommend the inclusion of the item on Southern Rhodesia on the agenda of the resumed session. The seven dissentients were: Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States. Thus the way was prepared for the resounding defeat suffered by imperialism three weeks later.

The case of the British Government in regard to Southern Rhodesia rests on two contradictory claims. On the one hand it is a territory for which the U.K. Government is entirely responsible so that any debate at the United Nations regarding the situation there constitutes interference in Britain's internal affairs. On the other hand the claim is made that Southern Rhodesia is independent to such an extent that it is under no obligation to give information to Britain concerning its affairs and Britain is not entitled to demand it. Yet the British Government can and does convene Constitutional conferences which it guides in determining the future of that territory.

While the U.N. General Assembly is not legally entitled to intervene in the affairs of a member state and its decisions are not legally binding on member governments—only those of the Security Council are—it is, nevertheless, fully entitled to discuss any subject that falls within the scope of the U.N. Charter. The situation in Southern Rhodesia, which the Tanganyika delegate, Mr. Asanterabi Nsilo Swai emphasised could lead to discord in adjoining African countries and territories, constitutes such a subject quite clearly.

The Tory Government whose representatives never neglect an opportunity to lecture the newly-independent countries on their conduct of international affairs should be compelled by the powerful insistence of the British people to observe the decisions of the U.N. General Assembly and uphold the principles of the Charter.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANTI-COLONIAL ENGLISH NOVELISTS

V. Ivasheva*

AT the turn of the century Joseph Chamberlain could say without a blush that the wars Britain had waged during the nineteenth century were wars for possession of colonies. Those were the days when Britain still proudly proclaimed herself 'ruler of the waves' and mistress of a vast Empire. The imperialist ideas of Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes were the theme of poems by Rudyard Kipling, and British schoolchildren learned to recite poetry about the 'white man's burden' and the mighty Empire on which the sun never sets. For a century British ruling circles trained the British people to take for granted that their country was the centre of the greatest power in the world. As Gladstone once said 'the sentiment of Empire is innate in every Briton'. It is 'part of our patrimony, born with our birth and dying only with our death'.

Today people are gradually forgetting the old school textbooks which reverently told of the 'empire-builders' and 'Britain's sacred mission'. Yet there still remains a half-conscious idea that Britain is destined by fate to rule other peoples. It is a fact that still has to be reckoned with. Nevertheless, the ordinary Englishman even of the old or middle generation who was trained to believe that exploitation of the peoples living in the different countries of the Empire (even if this Empire is now called a Commonwealth of Nations) was not merely a matter of course but was directly bound up with his own personal welfare and affluence, has in the past five or six years been losing the conviction that this state of affairs is a dispensation of Providence. Ever wider sections of the British people, particularly among British intellectuals, are insistently demanding a revision of the relations with the dependent countries of the so-called Commonwealth and frequently the rejection of colonialism too as a vicious system. More and more people today are gradually coming to realise that in the long run the collapse of colonialism and the liberation of the colonial peoples are in the interests of the British people themselves, that colonialism today means the enslavement not only of the colonial peoples but also of ordinary people in the metropolitan centre.

---

*V. Ivasheva is Professor of English Literature at Moscow University.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The problem of colonialism is occupying the attention of many British writers today. Their solutions differ and they even differ very greatly in their approach. But so many of them are disturbed by the problem that it is quite impossible for them to ignore it. 'No matter what new novels have appeared recently in our country, there will certainly be one of them at least where the action takes place in Africa', the English critic Francis Wyndham wrote recently. There are good grounds for this observation.

On the eve of the last decade James Aldridge published his exposure of the diplomacy of the British imperialists. His novel *The Diplomat* (1949) raised and solved problems which had seldom been mentioned by British authors. But Aldridge was then a solitary exception among British authors currently writing; he was almost alone in sharply exposing British foreign policy, he was almost alone in expressing his sympathy for the peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism. In *The Diplomat,* Aldridge challenged imperialism as a system. The writings he has published in recent years (*Heroes of the Empty View, I Wish He Would Not Die, The Last Exile*) are also an exposure of colonialism. He visualises and portrays with warm sympathy the growing resistance of the colonial peoples and the liberation struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Today there are increasing numbers of consistent, convinced opponents of colonialism among British writers, and the literary significance of books dealing with the problem of colonialism and exposing the colonial enslavement of peoples is growing.

Five years ago Desmond Stewart, who had lived in Iraq and the Lebanon for several years, wrote a book satirising the hypocritical, vicious policy of the imperialists in the Middle East. Stewart is well acquainted with Arab culture and he took the people who carried 'white civilisation' to the Arab East as the target of his satire. He revealed the ugly physiognomy of British diplomacy and the rôle of British 'benefactors' in North Africa. All Stewart's novels (*The Leopard in the Grass, The Unsuitable Englishman, Woman in Ambush*) describe the life and struggle of the Arab East. His best book, *The Unsuitable Englishman,* is a stern and just condemnation of the British colonisers, a vivid satire on the 'benefactors' of the under-developed countries.

For a number of years now that talented artist and publicist, Basil Davidson, has devoted himself to an exposure of colonialism. One of his novels is *The Rapids,* in which he clothes his sharp exposure

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of colonialism as a system in a masterly artistic form. He is quite certain that colonialism is doomed and he is able to convince the reader of it. His novel describing the liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa is imbued with ardent sympathy for the struggling peoples, a profound and genuine humanism and great dramatic force. The book's importance lies too in its solution of the acute and burning question of how to change the outlook of the ordinary Englishman. Another book by Basil Davidson, *Old Africa Rediscovered,* is also of very great importance. It delivers a knock-out blow to the creators of the myth of a 'cultural vacuum' in Africa. Davidson has just finished the second volume of his *History of Africa,* which just as inexorably destroys the myth of the superiority of white civilisation and the Europeans as bearers of culture to the African countries.

The most progressive English writers today are portraying the colonialists of various countries, and not merely the British colonisers. By so doing they convict the whole system of colonialism, instead of contenting themselves with describing particular manifestations of colonial tyranny. They see in the attitude of British colonialists one of the manifestations of the shameful phenomenon known as colonial enslavement that mars the lives of many peoples in the world. The two latest and best of the novels by Norman Lewis have a colonial setting, in Guatemala in one case (*The Volcanoes Above Us*) and in Algiers (*Darkness Visible*) in the other. The scene of his novel *A Single Pilgrim* is Laos. *The Volcanoes Above Us* (1957) is a description of Guatemala after the American intervention in 1954. *Darkness Visible,* a powerful and true indictment, concerns the war in Algiers and the situation in Algeria in 1959. Lewis took the title of his book from Milton's *Paradise Lost.* Its meaning becomes clear as the story unfolds. What Lewis depicts is so gloomy that the gloom becomes not only palpable but almost visible, as in the depths of hell in Milton's description. A series of pictures that shock the reader tell of the terrible reality encountered by an English engineer employed by an Anglo-American Oil Company prospecting for oil.

Aldridge and Davidson, Desmond Stewart and Norman Lewis are in the forefront of British writers who are actively and firmly opposing colonialism. Imperialism and colonialism are the leading theme in the works of these authors. In everything they have written in recent years they focus their attention on that most shameful phenomenon of mankind, colonial slavery. A condemnation

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of colonialism was sounded a few years ago in two books by Graham Greene, one of the greatest British writers of our day. *The Quiet American* (1955) and *Our Man in Havana* (1958). However complex the path of Graham Greene's creative development, however striking the contradictions in the mind of this outstanding artist of contemporary Britain, on the question of colonialism, the standpoint of the author of *The Quiet American* is perfectly clear. A strong condemnation of colonialism and racialism is to be found also in Doris Lessing's stories, such as *The Ant-Hill, Hunger, The Land of the Old Leader.*

For the first time in the history of the British novel, the defenders of British colonial power—those infallible Olympians who uphold the sacred pillars of 'Western culture' and 'white civilisation'—are exposed to ridicule and at times their traditional arrogance and pompous self-confidence is even seen to be pitiable. Gwyn Griffin's novel *Sons of God* (1960) attracted a great deal of attention and within a short time several editions were issued both in Great Britain and the United States. In these days of the rapid break-up of the colonial world, an increasing number of people are pondering over the recent past and the future prospects, trying to understand the processes taking place in the world. More and more writers are raising questions which until recently escaped their attention or which they regarded as outside the sphere of literature. These writers differ in their attitude to colonialism and the activities of the colonisers, but all feel that the ending of colonialism is inevitable. Some of their books reveal confusion, others betray alarm that customary ideas are being swept away and old values undergoing reappraisal, but ever more frequently and persistently British writers of different generations and holding different views are beginning to describe the changing, militant colonial world, are putting before their readers the problem that worries them, that of the impossibility of preserving the old order of things.

All the recent novels of one writer of the older generation, Gerald Hanley, turn on events in the colonial sphere. The world of which he writes is one shaken by the deep-seated but palpable subterranean tremors of the earthquake that has begun to take place. All Hanley's books written since his *The Consul at Sunset*—whether about Africa in *Drinkers of Darkness* (1955), or about India before its secession from Britain in *The Journey Homeward* (1961)—are imbued with a hopeless nostalgia, continually talking of the collapse of the old order, a collapse which can no longer be halted or prevented.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dozens of other English authors write of the same collapse of Britain's colonial empire and often in the same emotional key. Frequently they have no understanding of the course of historical development, but they are all clearly aware of the end of the old order. A conviction of this is found equally in David Unwin's book *The Governor's Wife* (1954), which describes the terrible daily existence of the black population in one of the British colonies of Equatorial Africa and the unbridled tyranny of the European racialists.

The racial question, the deprivation of rights suffered by the black man on his native soil, is the subject of a first novel by the young writer Ronald Harwood, *All the Same Shadows* (1961). A recently published novel by Thomas Hinde, *A Place Like Home* (1962) describes the awakening protest against colonialism in the consciousness of an ordinary Englishman, a lower-grade employee of a British firm in Africa. Neither Harwood nor Hinde, and still less Gerald Hanley or Unwin, are in the front ranks of the fighters against imperialism. But their books sometimes say more than their authors intended.

In the last two or three years, during which the national liberation movement in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world has assumed such unprecedented proportions, when one after another the young states of Asia and Africa have taken the path of independent development, and the question has arisen of the total elimination not only of British colonialism but of colonialism as a system, literary works describing the decay of empire have become ever more numerous and ever more varied in character.

FREEDOM

In order that freedom may really be secured, not merely in words, not in the promises of rhetorical liberalism, it is necessary not that the workers should support the new government, but that this government should support the workers.

V. I. Lenin: *Letters from Afar*, March-April, 1917.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DO NOT SAY THEY DIED

On reading the articles about the Miners of Asturias by Len Elliott and the Huk Prisoners in the Philippines by William J. Pomeroy in July Labour Monthly.

Do not say they died for their children
Or for any
And do not say they gave their lives
As though it were done willingly.
Say instead
They lived for life.

Do not believe there were two sides
To the argument
In which they died.
Men go backwards or forwards
There are two directions
But not two sides.

To fall backwards
Is to unthink thoughts already thought
To undo work already done
To unlive lives already led.
To go forward
Is to take and to hand on.

Do not assume the gift of life
Is common today amidst men.
To most nothing is given
And life must be defined
As not having died
As yet.

But do not doubt the change.
Life is now a possibility
Passed on from hand to foot to mind
And when it becomes a gift
Men will be born to it
And the aged torturers be dead.

JOHN BERGER.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

The Nuremberg Trials

J. J. Heydecker and J. Leeb

Heinemann. 380 pp. 42s.

THIS is a very useful book, but it is only partly concerned with the Nuremberg trials. Those who want a discussion of any of the many points of international law and policy raised by the trials must look elsewhere for it; and even those who look for a detailed account of the trials will only find a little of it here. The book is really something different, and in many ways much more valuable in these days of British, American and French—to say nothing of West German—whitewash for Nazis.

In essence, what the writers, two scholarly and industrious West German journalists, have done is to write a series of accounts of many of the ghastly developments and episodes of Nazi history, together with estimates of the personalities of the main Nazi leaders, and to round these accounts and estimates off with the rich material that the written and oral evidence at the trials provides, so that the book gives us complete stories drawn from all the available sources, including the trials.

The authors write with a high degree of objectivity; naturally enough, they are anxious to minimise, by a proper use of the material, the blame that must rest on the German people as a whole; and, not surprisingly if regrettably, they are imbued with some anti-Soviet bias; but they deserve our full praise for what constitutes the real merit of the book, that they show a clear, consistent, sincere and unflinching understanding and hatred of Nazism, and a readiness to give Germany itself and the whole world a full and true picture—a reminder for the older generation and a revelation for the younger—of the bestial horrors of Nazism.

Their method of working—involving obviously very profound study—is to take a dozen or so of the major and minor episodes of Nazi history (as well as of the leaders who took part in them), to write from all the available sources a full account of each of them, and then to finish with full quotations of the invaluable revelations that came in the trials themselves. They apply this method to the Reichstag fire plot, to the 'night of the long knives' of June, 1934, in which Röhm and his faction were wiped out by a string of assassinations, to the unsuccessful attempt to capture Austria in the summer of 1934 and the subsequent successful capture in 1938, to the whole Munich swindle and the rape of Czechoslovakia, to the Hess flight, to the vast operation of the systematic destruction of Jewish people, to the Spanish war, and to the cold-blooded planning of the aggressions that constituted the opening and the development of the Second World War itself.

All these events are described in objective and scholarly fashion; they are almost faultless in their accuracy

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

(3s. 6d. a line, minimum, 10s. 6d. Cash with order to : 'Class Ads.', Labour Monthly, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.)

DUPLICATING, Verbatim Shorthand, Typing (tapes, etc.), Translating. Mabel Eyles, 10, Beaconsfield Road, London, N.11. ENT 3324.

VETERAN L.M. readers: your early copies and pamphlets may be invaluable to others. Send details to: L.M. Exchange Service, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.

WE BUY books · pamphlets: Socialism, U.S.S.R., Comintern, Spain. We collect: RIV 6807. The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Road, W.6.

URGENTLY REQUIRED—All back numbers of *Labour Monthly* from 1921-1930 inclusive and 1939.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and completeness, and the contributions that the trials themselves make to history come out very well. If there is any criticism to be made, it turns on two separate and somewhat inconsistent passages dealing with the British reception of and negotiations with Rudolf Hess, which I would like to see properly checked and co-ordinated.

In these days of the rearmament of semi-fascist West Germany, of Castle Martin, of de Gaulle and Adenauer, and of the general condonations of Nazism, it is both valuable and reassuring to find that two West Germans can write, and an English publisher can publish, a book that is plainly, honestly, correctly and whole-heartedly anti-fascist, showing what Nazism was, and incidentally what fascism is.

The book is well-written, with the vividness that good journalists command. The translation is almost faultless, and it 'flows' as well in English as it obviously does in the original German.

D. N. PRITT, Q.C.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

The decisions of the Edinburgh Conference have provided the coping stone to the great transformation which was begun in 1918, when the Labour Party was taken up to cease to be the organ of a class and become the organ of the 'community'. By the disciplinary exclusions, by the tacit renunciation of the class struggle, by the proclamation of devotion to king and country, by the shouldering of the imperial burden, the Labour Party is to become part and parcel of the great machinery of the capitalist State. . . . To accomplish this transformation, the machinery of discipline has had to be imposed upon the movement and the expulsion of the working-class elements to be begun. It is still believed by many that the change which has taken place in the Labour Party is a change to a socialist basis. The nature of the discipline that has been imposed has been imposed against socialists of long standing and of known records in the working-class movement. It has been imposed in favour of open and avowed enemies to Socialism and of ruling class elements wholly alien to the working class. Is it not clear between whom the battle is being fought over the body of the Labour Party? Is it not clear why, the political body being bound, the next step should be a proposal for an industrial truce to bind the remaining weapon of the workers? The workers will make no greater mistake than to ignore the importance of what is happening because of the smallness of the numbers involved in the immediate controversy. For it is the whole future of the working class in this country that is at stake. The capitalist offensive is being conducted, not only on the open battlefield, but through the workers' own organisations. And the name of the new subjection which the capitalists are preparing will be called the New Social Order.

Notes of the Month, August, 1922.

Published by the proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Wembley News, Wembley, Middlesex, Great Britain. Registered for transmission by Magazine Post to Canada, including Newfoundland.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page ii of cover)

month who told me they had reached 60 so far—splendid progress! Another reader I met recently on a demonstration, now well up in years, with a tremendous record for consistently selling L.M. to generation after generation, promised to give us his copy of the first number, July 1921—worth its weight in gold to us, since we badly need early years for binding.

As to the fund, what shows the trend is not always the actual total but the number of people who contribute. Readers send us welcome advice. 'Oliver Twist' says: 'It's the problem of reaching the imagination and hence the pockets of the great majority of readers. If only, say, 85 per cent could suffer a sort of conversion, like St. Paul, and see the need to send a small but never failing contribution our problem would cease. A puzzle to me is the variety of names appearing under "Other Contributions". This source alone could amount to a huge number if all who send once or occasionally could contract the habit'.

I think we might be satisfied with a more modest proportion but during June we had 60 contributors, of whom 35 are regulars. Of the 'Other Contributions' many are really regulars because they put in the extra once a year, when renewing subscriptions. As one said: 'It saves nearly 3s. in stamps over the year; why shouldn't you have that rather than the Postmaster General?' Whatever the argument about ways and means between constant readers who are also constant fund supporters, what we want is more readers to show their constancy—either once a year or every month. Say, 100 names in the list next month, 250 by the end of the year. . .? Here is a letter from one of those people in our movement who are marvels to socialists from other countries: 'I was very sorry to read that you are anxious about the fund. I enclose postal order for 3s. that is 1s. per month for June, July and August. I cannot afford this, and cannot afford not to do it. I am sure that if you appeal to every reader who is not a regular contributor you would get a good response. If we old age pensioners can do it, how much more readers who are in regular work? It is little to ask of them for what they get in return'. I can appeal in no better words than our dear friend from Surrey. Donations received during June totalled:

£66 15s. 8d.

REGULAR DONATIONS came from: 'Daisy Bell', £10; 'Windfall', £10; E. Strachan Rogers, £2 2s; S. Turner (for Daisy Mendez, Cuba), 5s; G.I., 3s; B. Ainley, 10s; 'S. Mill', £1; K. Forge, 10s; R. McLeod, 5s; 'Anon', Whitchurch, 1s; 'In Memory of Joe Brien', 3s; 'Backslider', 10s; Marie Philibert, 6s; L. Perkins, 2s 6d; L. Bates, 5s; Blackburn Branch, 1s 9d; Oldham Branch, 1s; H. Brindle, 5s; D. H. Strathern and Friends, 10s; R.F.B., £3; Humphrey's Family, 5s; G. C. Fitt, 3s; R. Dodd, £1; C.T.H., £1; J. Hill per Prendergast, £1; M. Illing, £1; The Butcher Family, 5s; 'Oliver Twist and Friends', 15s; F.G.A. (Canada), 10s; L'Humanite, 8s; J. A. Smith, 6s; 'Socialist Sailor', £1; E.J.B., 10s; J. A. Purton, 7s 6d; A.M.T. for Fernando and Guilherme, Portugal, 1s.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS INCLUDE: J. McKinnon, £1 10s; A. S. Dopson, 2s; D. Brammer, 2s; J. Dunn, 2s; D. Mukerji, £6; P. Leplar, £9; A. Savage, 2s; W. H. Laithwaite, £1; B. H. Steel, £1 2s; M. Sternberg, 2s; J. L. Smith, 5s; A. Idle, 12s; D. J. E. Rees. £1; W. Chester, 1s 6d; Gertrude Davies, 10s; D. Sandwell, 2s 6d; J. G. Barker, 2s; W.V.S. (Canada), 5s 11d; W. Carritt, 10s; R. Bridgeman, 10s; Ben Lewis, 10s; G. Hunter, £4; W. J. Glennie, 5s; L. M. Congreve, 9s.

Our thanks to you all.

Co-op. No. L.99482.

ANGELA TUCKETT,
134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.
FINchley 5135.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To All Trade Unionists

Our Series

Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties has something of interest for all trades. Recent contributions from:

R. Willis, E. Hill, J. Newton on 'Neddy'; W. Paynter (N.U.M.), D. Bowman (N.U.R.) and A. Leith (A.S.L.E.F.) on Nationalisation;

and Conference Delegates on the Ballot, Common Market, Paypause, etc.

Reduced rates for trade unions and shop stewards' committees during this series : 1s. 6d. each, 7s. 6d. for 6; 1s. 3d. per extra copy.

I enclose .....s.....d.
for.....copies.

Binder Bros. Ltd.

Building and decorating by craftsmen

STAmford Hill 4096

For all interested in the fight for Peace and Progress in the Countryside and the problems of Socialist Agriculture.

THE COUNTRY STANDARD

Quarterly 6d. By post 9d.
Annual Subscription 3/- Post free or
Send 3d. stamp for specimen copy.
THE COUNTRY STANDARD
27, Bedford St. Strand, London, W.C.2.

LABOUR RESEARCH

'Beeching's Axe'
'School Leavers and Day Release'
'Company Law Reform'
1s. or 1s. 2½d. post free from
Labour Research Department
161, Drury Lane, London, W.C.2

WHY NOT BY POST?

NAME .....
(Please use block capitals)

ADDRESS .....

.....

I enclose 18s. (if by wrapper, or £1 if by envelope), for year's subscription from.....

(SIGNED).....

To LABOUR MONTHLY
134, BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N.3

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED